territoriality and band membership are closely linked they will be discussed together in Chapter VII.

A note on the history of each waterhole during the period 1963-64 will serve to illustrate some dynamic features of group structure.

1. !goše - There were three bands living at this waterhole at the time of the census, numbering 12, 19, and 22 individuals, respectively. These three bands had lived in one large camp from 1961-64. In mid-1964, they split into four bands. One group of 13 went to Nokaneng on an extended visit. The other three bands, totalling 53 people, remained at !gose. The territorial nucleus of the three bands that remained consisted of the descendents of one very old woman and her three nephews.

2. !anqwa - One band of 22 individuals was living here. The nucleus of this group included again a very old woman, her daughter and her son. Most of the members of the group were siblings of the daughter's husband. This band made a common camp with the members of the Batawana headman's staff. In July, 1964, they set up an independent camp.

3. Bate - One band of 21 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of two old women who were sisters and the two married offspring of these sisters. The remainder of the band consisted of affines of the sisters' children. In

621
312
16

late 1964, this entire band left Bate and shifted to !Xabe, a waterhole about seven miles away.

4. Mahopa - In 1964, there were no bands at this waterhole although some 43 Bushmen lived here in Bantu villages.

5. !Xabe - No band had lived here for several years until the group arrived from Bate.

6. !ubi - One band of 52 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of an old man and his two sisters. The old man and 31 other members of this band alternate yearly between Tsumkwe, South West Africa, and !ubi, Bechuanaland. They appeared to be in the process of shifting permanently out of the Dobe area. The two sisters and 18 other people continued to live at !ubi.

7. /ai/ai - In November, 1964, there were five bands here with 9, 12, 17, 27, and 30 members, respectively. Each band has a nucleus of an old man or woman and their married offspring. In October, 1963, most of these people were living in one large camp of 83 members. In 1964, this camp broke up into six smaller groups. One group went south to /gam and five groups remained. In addition, a number of people came from /gam to live at /ai/ai, thus producing the present situation of five camps totalling 95 individuals.

8. Dobe - There were two bands here of 12 and 24 people, respectively. The territorial nucleus consisted of

621
312
16 an old man and his sister. When the two Dobe groups divided, the old man and his two married children went one way and the old woman and her three sons went the other.

The remaining two bands were living outside of the Dobe area at the time of the census. One of them was the band of 13 from !goše that had gone to Nokaneng. The other was a group of 19 individuals who came from South West Africa to spend the summer of 1963-64 in the Dobe area and had returned to Tsumkwe in May, 1964.

621
312
166 These brief notes indicate the extent to which bands coalesce and split, change waterholes and move in and out of the Dobe area. It does not take into account the corresponding 621 shifts made by individuals and families. In light of the above it is doubtful whether the use of the term "band" is legitimate in the context of Bushman group dynamics. The "band" may turn out to be an artifact of the observer's sampling technique and his theoretical preconceptions (see Chapter VII). Among the !Kung, for example, it appears that the cohesive social units are the extended families that make up the larger aggregations that have been called bands. This does not imply that the !Kung have what Steward (1955) called a "family level of organization" since the !Kung consistently live in aggregations of two to ten or more families. Until a complete analysis of the data is carried out, it would